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and of agricultural buildings, to 20 percent. In Hungary the number of horses declined 71 percent from 1940 to 1945, the number of cattle, 60 percent; hogs, 80 percent; and sheep, 81 percent.

The basis for land reform was furnished by a decree of the Polish National Liberation Committee on 6 September 1944. The expropriation without compensation of the large estates was proclaimed. All tracts of land containing over 50 hectares of cultivated land or 100 hectares total area, as well as the entire land property of Germans, war criminals, etc., were taken over by the land reform fund. The entire property of these landowner categories, buildings, equipment, cattle, etc., was confiscated along with the land.

In Czechoslovakia, the land and other property of Germans and national traitors was confiscated by a decree of 21 June 1945. A national land fund was formed, which took over the expropriated landed property. However, this was only the beginning of the agrarian reform. The passage and execution of the law of 11 June 1947, concerning the revision of the agrarian reform of 1916, followed. Finally, after the events of February 1948, a radical land reform was carried out by which hundreds of thousands of hectares of former estate property were transferred to the peasants. By a decree of 21 March 1948, the maximum limit for land property was set at 50 hectares; all land above this maximum was bought by the state and divided among the peasants.

In Hungary all land, regardless of size, and other property of Fascist, war criminals, and national traitors, was confiscated by a decree of 15 March 1945. In addition, all properties of over 57 hectares (100 cadastral yokes) had to be surrendered against compensation.

In Rumania, by a law of 20 March 1945, all land of Germans, people's enemies, and national traitors, as well as all land in excess of 50 hectares, was confiscated. Church and cloister lands were exempted from the 50-hectare limit. After the overthrow of the monarchy, the royal lands also went into the national land fund. In 1949, when the property owners who had been given 50 hectares of land each were alleged to be sabotaging agriculture, their plots of land were likewise confiscated and nationalized.

In Bulgaria, by the law of 12 March 1946, the agricultural land property was limited to 20 hectares and to 30 hectares in a large part of southern Dobrudzha. All land in excess of this limit was transferred to the land fund against 3-percent government bonds issued expressly for this purpose. In addition, a portion of state and public land was transferred to the fund.

In Albania, the landed estates, including all equipment, cattle, and buildings, were confiscated by a law of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council on 29 August 1945.

In all these countries the land was divided among landless and poor peasants, agricultural workers, and migrants.

In Rumania and Poland, people who obtained such land had to give the state, in exchange, produce amounting to an average annual yield, 1,000-1,500 kilograms of rye or wheat per hectare, or had to pay the equivalent in cash. The first payment of 10 percent was to be made immediately after obtaining the land, and the remainder paid in installments. For peasants with very little land, the installments were to be paid within 10 years, and for landless peasants and agricultural workers, within 20 years. In individual cases, the first payment was postponed 3 years. In Hungary, the new owner had to pay an amount equal to 20 times the net profit recorded at the land-registry office, under the same payment terms as described above. This is a very minimal amount, because the land-registry net profit at the end of the previous century was determined by the property owners themselves, who strove to keep it as low as possible to conceal their actual income from the tax bureaus.

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The land was transferred to the peasants free of debts and obligations.

	Extent of Land Partition					
	<u>Poland</u>	<u>Hungary</u>	<u>Rumania</u>	<u>Czecho-slovakia</u>	<u>Bulgaria</u>	<u>Albania</u>
Number of landless and poor peasants, and agricultural workers provided with land (in 1,000)	1,100	650	860	250	128.8	172.7
Amount of land divided (in 1,000 ha)	6,000	3,192*	1,100	4,400	150.0	320.0

\*The total amount of land expropriated from estates, the greater part of which has been nationalized.

The greatest increase in landed properties, as a result of the land reform, was to be noted in the number of farms up to 5 hectares. In Rumania, for example, farms of this size included in 1930, 28 percent of the arable land; in 1948, 57.7 percent. In Hungary, private landowners having up to 10 cadastral yokes (5.7 hectares) worked 19.4 percent of the entire land area before the reform, and after the reform, 49 percent.

A part of the land in the People's Democracies became state or national property. Forests, a part of the arable land, mining regions, bodies of water, etc., fell into this category.

The newly established farms were allocated cattle, agricultural machines, equipment, etc., along with the land. Tractors and combines were put at the disposal of the state farms, the agricultural machine stations, and the agricultural cooperatives.

The agrarian reform prepared the ground for the subsequent socialistic reorganization of the small, private, peasant households. As a result of the measures adopted, a great shift occurred in the power balance in rural areas. The class of large landowners had been liquidated, and the medium-sized households received, and continue to receive, state support in the strengthening of their operations and in their consolidation into large-scale collectives. The peasants were also exempted from payment of rent.

The nationalization of the banks led to freeing the peasantry from their mortgage debts. In Hungary, these amounted to 120 million pengos. The kulak class still exists, to be sure, and utilizes every opportunity to increase its exploitation of the poorer peasants and agricultural workers.

Contrary to the prediction that agricultural production would decline as a result of the land partition, the land reforms in all the People's Democracies have actually led to an increase in land cultivated. Thus, in Rumania, the area sown to wheat was already greater in 1948 than before the war. In Poland, despite the heavy war damage, the hectare yield in 1948 reached the prewar level, and in the case of rye actually exceeded that level. In Hungary, the cultivated area in 1948 - 1949 had almost reached the prewar level. In Albania, the cultivated area by 1947 had already surpassed the 1938 level by 77 percent. In Bulgaria, agricultural production had reached 103 percent of the prewar level by 1948, and cattlebreeding, 91 percent.

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The industrialization of the People's Democracies, and particularly the expansion of those branches of industry which make production equipment for agriculture, was of the greatest importance in accelerating the socialization process. The Polish Six-Year Plan (1950 - 1955) aims at an increase in the total value of industrial production to 214 percent of 1949. In agricultural production, an increase to 145 percent of 1949 is forecast. In 1955, 18 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, four and a half times as much as in 1938, are to be produced, as well as 4 million tons of steel, 11,000 tractors, and 13,000 trucks. The production of agricultural machines is to be seven times that of 1938.

In Hungary, the 1949 production of trucks was twice that of 1938; of bicycles, freight cars, and steamships, 3 times; of tractors, 5 times; of motorcycles, 7 times; of locomotives, 8 times; and of machine tools, 30 times.

According to Czechoslovakia's Five-Year Plan (1949 - 1953), 336.2 billion crowns are to be invested in the national economy, 131.9 billion of this in industry and 26.8 billion in agriculture. The industrialization of Slovakia, an area which very recently was a backward, purely agrarian region, will be especially promoted.

The industrialization of the People's Democracies and the deliveries by the Soviet Union of agricultural machines and tractors, particularly to Bulgaria and Albania, whose own industry is only very little developed, are creating the basis for carrying through the cooperative plan on the Soviet pattern. The winning of the peasantry for the cooperative movement is being accomplished by degrees through the development of various transitional cooperative forms such as, marketing and consumer cooperatives, credit unions, machine cooperatives, farm workers' cooperatives, collective agricultural enterprises, etc.

#### Marketing and Consumer Cooperatives

The marketing and consumer cooperatives are of great importance in the collectivization of the peasantry. In Poland, in the fall of 1949, about 2 million owners of peasant enterprises were members of cooperative groups. In mid-1950, there were over 3,000 cooperative groups in the Union of Peasant Self-Help Cooperatives. In Czechoslovakia, at the end of 1949, there were 3,230 Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and working committees for establishing such cooperatives. In Bulgaria, at the beginning of 1949, there were agricultural cooperatives in 3,000 villages, with 634,000 members. By the end of October 1949, membership had reached 1.3 million.

The agricultural cooperatives handle a considerable part of the turnover of goods in the People's Democracies. For example, in 1948, in Hungary, 1,700 agricultural cooperatives participated in handling the wheat harvest; 700 cooperatives bought eggs; and 800 cooperatives bought wool. By order of the government, every village was permitted to establish an agricultural cooperative. In the first half of 1949, there were over 3,000 general agricultural cooperatives, which were merged into the National Association of Cooperatives. In Bulgaria, in 1948, 50 percent of the grain, 90 percent of the milk and milk products, 100 percent of the fruit, vegetable, and egg production, and 90 percent of the wool and raw hides were bought through agricultural purchasing cooperatives. At the same time, over 70 percent of the industrial goods destined for the rural market went through the hands of the cooperatives. In Rumania, the state contracted with the cooperatives for agricultural products and also organized the purchase and export of these products through the cooperatives. Thus, in 1949, the cooperatives procured 70,000 tons of potatoes, 13,700 tons of French beans, 18,300 tons of hay, 27,700 tons of cabbage, 75,000 tons of fruit, and 6,500 tons of dried fruit.

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The cooperative merger of the peasant enterprises in the field of marketing and procurement is only the first step in the development of the cooperative project and creates the prerequisites for transition to most important stage of the plan, the creation of producers' cooperatives.

#### Forms of Producers' Cooperatives

The process of socialistic reorganization of agriculture has a particular complexion in the People's Democracies in that there the peasants still control private property. This doubtless renders the socialization of individual peasant enterprises more difficult. The merging into producers' cooperatives is accomplished in these countries by the socialization of all important means of production. Under this method, the land brought into most of the producers' cooperatives remains the property of the cooperative member; in addition, a part of the net profit is divided according to the size of the land plot. Of course, that does not mean that the building up of socialism in the People's Democracies will be possible without the complete nationalization of the land. Producers' cooperatives in the People's Democracies are merely a transitional form between individual peasant enterprise and socialistic production.

In the People's Democracies, there are several types of producers' cooperatives. One of these is the union for communal cultivation of the land, in which the principal means of production and the tilling of the land are socialized. The work is done communally; 60-75 percent of the net profit is divided according to days of work done and 25-30 percent according to the land portion contributed. The Hungarian cooperatives, the Bulgarian farm workers' cooperatives, a number of the Polish, and a great number of the Czechoslovak cooperatives are of this type. There are also producers' cooperatives in which the means of production are socialized and the net profit divided completely on the basis of workdays. The Albanian and Rumanian collective enterprises, a great number of the Polish, and a number of the Czechoslovak producers' cooperatives are of this latter type.

In the Bulgarian farm workers' cooperatives, 60 percent of the income is divided according to the number of workdays, and, at the most, 30 percent according to the amount of land contributed. The remaining 10 percent is given directly to the cooperative's fund and for public use. The second national conference of the farm workers' cooperatives, held at the beginning of April 1950, approved the model statute for cooperatives of this type.

In Hungary, the statute on agricultural cooperatives laid down by the government distinguishes among three types of producers' cooperatives for farming activities:

1. Unions for communal working of the land.
2. Production groups in which the work is done collectively but the harvest divided according to the amount of arable land contributed by each member.
3. Independent producers' cooperatives, which provide for common working of the land, socialization of production, and division of 75 percent of the net profit according to workdays and 25 percent according to the land portion.

In December 1949, 2.6 percent of the cooperatives belonged to the first group; 3 percent to the second; and 94.4 percent to the third. This means that even in this development phase the most advanced cooperative form already predominates. The enrollment of rich peasants as cooperative members is forbidden by the new Hungarian statute for producers' cooperatives.

In Rumania, the model statute for collective economic enterprises was set down in 1949. By this statute all important means of production were socialized, as was the land, with the exception of small private plots. The profit is divided only according to workdays.

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Agricultural Machine Stations

In the transition from marketing to producers' cooperatives, a great role is played by the agricultural machine stations, which are organized on the pattern of those in the USSR.

In Hungary, in April 1949, there were 132 agricultural machine stations with 1,300 tractors; at the beginning of 1950, there were 271 with 4,450 tractors. Under the Five-Year Plan, the number is supposed to reach 500, with 21,000 tractors. In addition, 3,000 tractors a year are to be built. The agricultural machine stations, with their tractors, work the land of the producers' cooperatives at a 30-percent discount, whereas cooperatives in which the peasants are not united into producers' groups receive only a 10-percent discount. Since 1949 - 1950, the agricultural machine stations are no longer paid in cash, but receive a certain part of the harvest as payment in kind.

In Poland, on 1 March 1949, there were 2,368 cooperative machine and tractor stations and machine rental stations. At the end of 1949, there were 3,000. In March 1950, in Poland, there were already 70 state-owned agricultural machine stations with 1,000 tractors. While tractors were not formerly produced in Poland, they are now being made by the Ursus factory, which built 2,500 in 1948 and 1949. These went principally to the state farms and agricultural machine stations. In Czechoslovakia on 1 January 1951 the agricultural machine stations had 5,599 tractors, 2,753 automatic binders, 103 combines, and 80 threshing machines. In Bulgaria, in 1948, there were 70 agricultural machine stations with 3,500 tractors; in 1949, 86 with 4,754 tractors. The agricultural machine stations work 20 percent more cheaply for the farm workers' cooperatives than for individual peasants. According to the Five-Year Plan, there should be 150 stations with 10,000 tractors by 1953.

With the help of the USSR, independent tractor production facilities have been set up in Rumania. The Soviet-Rumanian association "Sovromtractor" produced the first 1,000 tractors in 1948. In 1949, production was considerably increased, and by 1952, a monthly production of 300 tractors is to be reached. In mid-1949, there were in Rumania 80 agricultural machine stations with 2,289 tractors, 1,839 tractor plows, 1,968 threshing machines, and 749 seed drills. At the beginning of 1950, there were 118 agricultural machine stations.

In all the People's Democracies, the agricultural machine stations accelerate a merging of individual peasants into producers' cooperatives, and therewith, a transformation of small, backward peasant enterprises into large, efficient, mechanized, collective enterprises.

State Farms

The state agricultural enterprises are of great importance in the socialization of agriculture. In Rumania, by September 1949, about 800 state farms with an area of over 700,000 hectares had been formed. At the beginning of 1950, the state farms in Hungary comprised over 4 percent of the total cultivated land area; in Poland in 1948, 10 percent. In Bulgaria, in the fall of 1949, there were 91 state farms with 90,000 hectares of land. In Czechoslovakia, the state farms at the beginning of 1949 comprised over 400,000 hectares, or 7 percent of the total cultivated area; in March 1950, over 530,000 hectares.

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#### Development of the Producers' Cooperatives

Special privileges were introduced for the agricultural producers' cooperatives. Thus, in Bulgaria, the newly created farm workers cooperatives were exempt from all taxes for 3 years. In 1946, they received government loans amounting to 471 million leva; in 1948, over one billion leva in cash subsidies and 1.7 billion leva for the construction and import of agricultural machinery. Peasants belonging to farm workers' associations receive a 40-percent price discount on land obtained through the land reform.

At the beginning of 1945, the number of producers' cooperatives in Bulgaria amounted to 110; at the beginning of 1948, to 580; and at the end of 1949, to 1,605. Their membership rose from 7,200 in 1945 to 200,000 at the end of 1949; the cultivated land area from 25,700 to 560,000 hectares, constituting over 11 percent of the entire cultivated area. Although most of the cooperatives are made up of poor-peasant enterprises, more peasants with medium-sized holdings have joined since 1948. In 1953, the end of the current Five-Year Plan, the number of farm workers' cooperatives is to reach 4,000 with an arable land area of 3 million hectares. Together with the state farms, which are to operate 120,000 hectares by 1953, the socialized sector of agriculture will be delivering 60 percent of the gross and 72 percent of the market production of grain.

In Hungary, in April 1950, there were 1,760 agricultural producers' cooperatives with 80,000 members (peasant households), and about 360,000 cadastral yokes of land (over 200,000 hectares). This constitutes 4 percent of the arable land area.

In Albania, in November 1948, 1,168 holdings were merged into 56 agricultural producers' cooperatives, which operated, at the beginning of 1949, 10,870 hectares, or 3.4 percent of the entire land area. All the land is socialized and the net profit divided according to workdays.

In Poland, the first 170 producers' cooperatives were formed in 1949. By 10 January 1950, their number had increased to 283, 60 percent of which were, according to their statutes, of the most advanced socialistic type. In this type, the entire profit is divided according to workdays. By March 1950, there were already 726 cooperatives in Poland, uniting 17,433 peasant farms.

In Rumania, 184 collective enterprises had been formed by March 1950, comprising 10,000 small and medium-sized farms. However, the total number of peasants who had joined in communal use of tractors amounted to over 100,000.

In Czechoslovakia, at the beginning of 1950, work cooperatives existed in 3,000 villages, and in 1,500 villages committees were making preparations for forming producers' cooperatives.

Since a direct knowledge of conditions in the Soviet kolkhozes is of greatest importance for the expansion of producers' cooperatives in the People's Democracies, delegations of Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Albanian, Rumanian, and Hungarian peasants were sent to the Soviet Union to study the operations of the kolkhozes.

In Bulgaria, in June 1950, the party declared that under no circumstances might the voluntary principle be violated. A special government commission studied the regions in which violations in this respect were reported, and measures were immediately introduced for remedying these abuses and for punishing the guilty. In addition, an attempt was made to strengthen the personal interest of the peasants, particularly those with larger holdings, in increasing agricultural production and in increased efficiency.

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In 1948 and 1949, in Bulgaria, the net earnings of the farm workers' cooperatives amounted to 25-30 percent more than corresponding earnings of individual peasants. In Hungary, in 1949, the cooperatives harvested 200-400 kilograms more per cadastral yoke than did individual farmers. In Albania, the productivity of the cooperatives was likewise 25-30 percent greater than that of the individual peasants. In addition to food production, the cultivation of such crops as tobacco, vegetable oils, rice, and essential oils was expanded.

#### Credit Grants

The newly created agricultural enterprises are supported by the governments of the People's Democracies with equipment, credit, etc. Thus, agriculture in Poland during the years 1945 - 1948 was granted credits amounting to over 53 billion zlotys. This does not include the 2.7 million tons of synthetic fertilizer, over 300,000 tons of seed potatoes, and about 500,000 tons of seed grain also provided. In contrast to 100 units of synthetic fertilizer used on each hectare of cultivated land in Poland before the war, 170.4 units were being used by 1948. The small and medium-sized enterprises were provided with 39,000 tons of graded and select seed and 590,000 tons of synthetic fertilizer. In Slovakia, 8-10 times as many agricultural machines and two and a half times as much synthetic fertilizer were received as before the war.

#### Suppression of Kulaks

Rich peasants are being systematically suppressed and limited in their importance by the state authorities of the People's Democracies. At present, the production of rich peasants still represents a considerable part of the whole agricultural picture. The cooperative basis on which this portion is to be taken over by large collective enterprises has not as yet been established. In Rumania, in 1948, 250,000 day-laborer families worked on farms of rich peasants. In Hungary, the large farms comprise about 3 million cadastral yokes, 1.71 million hectares. In 1946 - 1947, 40,000-45,000 permanent workers and about 150,000 seasonal workers, day laborers, mowers, etc., were employed. In addition, a large number of day laborers are employed by rich peasants in Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania. The gradual suppression of the kulaks is carried out by various methods, by the system of forced deliveries, by price regulations, general and special taxes, compulsory sale of their agricultural machines, and by regulating labor and wage conditions for day laborers by means of collective agreements, etc.

The large farms must fulfill higher delivery quotas at lower prices. For example, in Hungary the large farms of 40 cadastral yokes must deliver three and a half times as much wheat per cadastral yoke as the small farms of 5 cadastral yokes. Farms of over 40 cadastral yokes must fulfill even higher quotas for grain and other products. In addition, the rich peasants must deliver grain for the agriculture development fund.

In all the People's Democracies, job-protection measures for day laborers are being instituted. In Hungary, where the kulaks discharged activists among the day laborers in great numbers, the Council of Ministers, in March 1949, ordered that rich peasants would not be allowed to discharge their permanent workers, that any discharges after 1 January 1949 were invalid, and that the discharges must be rehired. In addition, the work hours have been regulated and equal pay has been set for men, women, and children doing the same work.

In Bulgaria, a law of 18 February 1948, ordered the compulsory purchase of all tractors and large agricultural machines in private hands. Attempts on the part of the rich peasants to hide some of the machines or to damage the equipment were foiled by the government. A graduated income tax has been instituted to hasten the taxing away of the revenue of the large farms, and a one-time property tax further limits the formation of new capital.

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In Rumania, the rich peasants must pay taxes amounting to one third of their income. At the discretion of the people's councils, the taxes can be raised another 20-25 percent. Under the system of grain deliveries to the state, the large farms are subject to progressively larger deliveries commensurate with their prosperity. The state and the labor unions compel the rich peasants to guarantee the agricultural workers favorable working conditions. In Poland, a large number of the small farms are exempt from the land tax, the principal burden of which is imposed on the rich peasants.

The land divided among the poor and landless peasants by the land reform cannot be bought by the rich peasants, since the sale and purchase, partition, or giving away of such land is prohibited. Also, the renting of such land by the rich peasants is rendered impossible by stringent rental regulations.

By using its rent privileges, the state in Hungary has brought together into rent cooperatives all agricultural workers landless and poor peasants who have not as yet received land. Landowners who have over 40 cadastral yokes of land must, if they do not work the land themselves, transfer this land, under direction of the state, to a rent cooperative. In such cases, the rental sum is determined by the state. In this manner, by the end of 1948, 60,000 day laborers and poor peasants in rent cooperatives had obtained 232,800 cadastral yokes of land from rich peasants and landowners.

In Bulgaria, in December 1948, the long-term leasing of land and cattle, sharecropping, and the so-called Antichres, a usurious form of exploitation by which a creditor has rights to the income from the debtor's property until the loan is paid, were prohibited by law. Only peasants cultivating the land themselves are now allowed to rent land. Hired labor is forbidden on rented land. The rental rate is determined by the people's councils on the basis of the price scale of the state land fund.

In Rumania, the renting of a farm for half of the produce is prohibited by law. In addition, a law of June 1947 proclaimed that all sales of land under 5 hectares in the arid regions were invalid. It was felt that such sales, conducted under economic pressure, indicated exploitation by the rich peasants of the poor peasants' poverty. The same law prohibits any private purchase of land without special permission from the Ministry of Agriculture. Where the permission is given, the state enjoys the right of pre-emption.

In Hungary, the sale of land is possible only with the permission of the Commission of County Land Administration, whereby the state has the right of pre-emption at prices set by the commission. Only persons selling a maximum of 2 cadastral yokes obtain permission to sell land. Buyer and seller must both be peasants. Through this virtual prohibition of free land sale, and through the creation of rent cooperatives, the land is to be gradually taken away from the rich peasants and landowners and transferred to the poor and landless peasants and to agricultural workers.

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